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used industrially! the yuchan and the châguar (which has fiber serviceable in making rope) [192] as they are to be found over an enormous territory and grow without need of cultivation, would be of great commercial value.

Another interesting tree that has domestic use and may some day be employed industrially is the pacara (Enterolobium timboiva). It is a tree of great beauty, very tall, of large girth and having a great deal of foliage -- it is of the mimosa family. Its fruit is a flat, oblong, twisted pod of a dark chestnut color about an inch and a half long and which contains 12 percent to 15 percent of saponin. This pod is used [388] to get the grease out of clothes and wool.

To finish as we had started, I must add that the Indians are great 273 lovers of the alcoholic beverages common among the whites, and become so drunk as to be floored. Even in this detail are they like those who are not their brothers in Christ.

Chapter VII

Wars

The Indians are much addicted to wars, it must be confessed, 721 ● and they are perpetually fighting; it is -- if I may be allowed the expression -- a continual giving and taking.

One war follows another, either because the vanquished wish to avenge their previous losses or because the victors have begun to enjoy their victories. Causes for war are: having fished, hunted or harvested in foreign territory, or the need to annul an offence or the hope of gain.

These wars are not strategic ones in which one battle follows another until the enemy is helpless to defend himself; rather are they surprise attacks on camps with the object of overwhelming and pillaging them and carrying off cattle, boys and sometimes even women.

This is why the camps or villages, in forested regions, always 361 have flanks and back right up against the deep woods, where, if surprised, the inhabitants may find refuge, and where it would be impossible to pursue them as there is a veritable labyrinth of paths known only to the inhabitants of the village.

although they retain their position of ministers of "foreign affairs," 701
representing the tribe before outsiders either to treat some matter,
or to form an alliance for either war or peace. And even then
their leadership is not of much value for the members of the tribe,
the populace, are free to refuse to go to war -- although actually
their pride only rarely allows them to hold back.

When a chief plans an attack he gets the advice of the old 721
men of the tribe and of other influential persons, and if these do
not set their approval upon his plan he nevertheless invites those
who will to follow him.

Sometimes, though, large scale invasions are planned by
the allied chiefs of several villages. When we arrived at the vil-
lage of Chaguaral, we found there a group of eleven or thirteen
chiefs, all Matacos, who were awaiting the arrival of [194] their
allies with whom, shortly thereafter, they invaded the territory
of other Matacos who three months earlier had given them a good
drubbing.

While they are on their way to wage war they vociferate 726
wildly, shouting both threateningly and happily. They dye part
of their faces and bodies black and sometimes muss up their al- [302]
ready unkempt hair until they look like "lost souls," in the opinion
of a Christian Indian. On the eve of battle, those who have the
wherewithal deck their hair, waist and ankles with feathers, pre-
ferring red or yellow ones, and tie any rag they may have with
them tightly about their midriffs. When combat begins they
break out with the most bloodcurdling yells.

This business of putting on warpaint is common to almost 000
all savages: it was the custom also among those whom the Romans
called barbarians; for example, according to Claudius the
Sigambrians used to dye their hair a brilliant red before going into
battle.

The chiefs have the place of honour in the thickest of the 726
battle, which always results in the death of some of them. If the 622
invaders win, they sack everything, capture the women, the 727
children and cattle, parcel out the booty and set fire to the vil-
lage.

They give no quarter to the warriors and only rarely do they 727
spare the lives of the older women because they distrust them as

that invasion took place which we had seen in preparation in the village of Chaguaral. Unfortunately moths got into it and ruined it, and I had no other recourse but to throw it out since it was no longer worth sending to Italy together with some skulls and other objects I had collected. 727

This custom of scalp taking is common to all the Indians hereabouts, and is also indulged in by those living in North America. The strange thing is that it was also practiced by the Scythians.

The Germans also were in the habit of drinking from the skulls of their fallen enemies. Who does not know about Albuin the Longobard who made his wife Rosamund drink from her father's skull some 1300 years ago? [171]

This Indian practice reminds me of something which, in my opinion, reflects the sagacity of these savages:

I was with the colonel of the regiment which was on duty on the frontier, on one of his periodic visits. Near a fort where an Indian tribe was camped the son of the general chief came to see him, (the chief himself did not make an appearance since he wished the colonel to call on him first) and made us a present of some very good and delicious aloja. As it happened that he had just returned from a raid upon the Tobas we asked him if he had not brought back a few scalps. The Indian, as though seeking an excuse for his cruelty said: "The Tobas take the scalps of white men and we take the scalps of the Tobas."

On this same occasion, seeing me dressed in the manner of country people, surrounded by army officers and standing beside the colonel who treated me with great consideration and respect, the Indians whispered among themselves: "Who do you suppose this one is?" And the more sophisticated answered "he must be some president or other!"

It seemed to me as I heard this idle chatter and banter that I was in the midst of a thickly crowded mass of our own lower classes.

[196] One of the superstitions among these Indians is to sally forth on their raiding expeditions with the new moon. They appear to attribute some magical virtue to it, yet they do not 721 ● 821

customarily travel by night for fear of snakes and tigers [jaguars--Translator].

We are already aware of the fact that their weapons are bow and arrows, lances and clubs, all made of wood. They do not employ metal of any sort because they do not possess any and because they neither know how nor are able to work it. If they can get hold of a nail or a knife or an old tin pot they hold it in high esteem and value it greatly. They also use boleadoras ["bolas"--Translator].

They travel hundred of leagues in order to wage war, and do so on foot and in a relatively short time for the Indians are amazing walkers. Naked and therefore light they travel with agility yet without seeming to. They go barefoot and therefore need to lift their feet less off the ground.

The chiefs never fail to exhort their warriors before the battle, and just prior to the attack their captain shouts at them: "Comrades! Here we are now. Fight with courage and do not flee even when the enemy stamps on your feet." A hortative which seems to me well suited to its purpose and quite to the point since it concerns those who will be involved in hand-to-hand combat. They mangle the bodies of their fallen enemies without any pity whatsoever, and in addition to taking scalps, they tear out their hearts, mutilate their members and submit them to a thousand other cruelties.

I do not know whether they dismember their prisoners before killing them or are content to cut their throats, as they would a sheep's, before tearing them to pieces. This is what they did to our interpreter Faustino: first they shot him with arrows by surprise, thus knocking him to the ground where he lay helpless. Right away they sprang upon him and slit his throat while he was yet alive and conscious. Then they cut his head off, tied him to a tree by his feet and stripped him of all he had on.

Here is a dialogue between two Indians after a battle:

First Indian -- "Now I shall tell you what happened on the return journey. I suddenly heard someone in the rear shout 'The enemy is killing our comrades down there in that dip in the road.' I immediately shouted to my followers -- 'Get into battle order,

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
Toba SI12

of the Old Men (*Eakachi*) intervenes, and they may subject the culprit to corporal punishment or exile him.

Only among the Tobas can we speak of a sort of Court of Justice, the Council of the Old Men (*Eakachi*) mentioned before. These men have to intervene in disputes and quarrels, but at the great drinking-feasts they are — just as among the Choroti — assisted by the women who do their best to part the disputing men. For an outrage committed in a state of drunkenness extenuating circumstances are found and the offender is generally exiled for a longer or shorter time. If such deeds however are repeated and the Indian proves dangerous to his fellow-tribesmen, he may be expelled from the community for ever. This for instance was the fate of the great Toba chief Taycolique, as I have mentioned before.

In other offences the culprit may, among the Tobas, be subjected to corporal punishment. A casual adultery is one of those comparatively slight offences which the offended Indian may himself punish if he likes, and a Toba man may in such cases beat his unfaithful wife. It is to be noticed that in a case of adultery the offended Indian does not generally punish the seducer but on the other hand frequently chastises his unfaithful wife, considering her to be more culpable.

Real murders, as far as I know, never take place within the community, and blood-revenge is only practised in the feuds fought out between the different tribes. Blood-revenge forms part and parcel of the warfare of the Indians.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
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the Jibaro Indians [1]). But the way of waging wars is about the same among all South American Indians, and in particular, the customs of the Tobas, as far as I know them, substantially agree with, for instance, those of the Lenguas as described by Grubb. As far as the victory feasts are concerned, the customs of the Chaco Indians are not in any way comparable with those of the Jibaros, which stand alone for their richness in complicated rites and ceremonies.

The history of the Tobas shows that they have in former times been a real scourge to the neighbouring tribes, and the white settlers on the Pilcomayo some 30 years ago were constantly in danger of attack. In our days the Tobas have become more stationary and in the same degree more peaceful. The most warlike Toba tribe are the Pilagá in the Argentine Chaco who have waged war particularly against the Ashluslay on the other side of the Pilcomayo with a view to depriving them of the possession of that river.

The most important causes of the wars among the Chaco Indians have been vendetta and trespass upon foreign land. Whereas blood-revenge does not occur within the same tribe, it is commonly enjoined by custom as a duty in the relation of the different tribes to each other. But behind the blood-feuds there are often earlier quarrels, especially about boundaries. In an inhospitable country like Chaco, where agriculture is rendered difficult and game is comparatively scarce, the possession of a river like the Pilcomayo, extremely rich in fish, is naturally of great importance. Many feuds have been fought out between the Chaco tribes for the possession of this river. Both for the sake of the river and for the sake of the pasture necessary for the flocks, the Chaco tribes have fixed limits dividing the territory of one tribe from that of another. These limits are commonly recognized, and trespassing, when it is wilfully done, may become a cause of war. Father Lozano relates that the Tobas living in the region of Tucumán used a kind of boundary mark consisting of long forked poles, and that upon the points of these poles they used to hang the skulls of those who had attempted to enter the territory of others. [2])

Other causes of war among the Chaco tribes are the greed for acquiring the flocks and herds of another tribe and the desire to steal women. How far witchcraft, which has so often given rise to sanguinary feuds among the Indians, has played a part in the wars of the Tobas, I am not able to

[1]) See my *Blood-Revenge, War, and Victory Feasts among the Jibaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador* (Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of Ethnology. Bull. 79. 1923).

[2]) Lozano, *op. cit.* I. 99.

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M 721

say. The Tobas certainly believe in witchcraft, but the rôle of this superstition as an originator of wars has evidently not been equally great as, for instance, among the Jibaros.

M 726

When an attack against an enemy is planned, the old men of each tribe (*eakáchi*) together with the chiefs (*alyánek*) assemble every night to deliberate in a special place outside the village. Much algaroba beer is drunk on this occasion in order that the deliberations may lead to a happy result. In the shade of a big algaroba tree the old men invoke the »good spirit» (*peyák nôin*) so that he may give the warriors victory and protect them in the coming fight. The younger Toba men perform the dance *Nomi* for several days. Each sub-tribe marches out to war headed by its chief. But since these chiefs are often aged persons, too weak to perform their duty in the expedition successfully, a special leader is as a rule appointed by the old men when a war expedition is planned. This leader is generally a younger brother or some other relation of a chief, and he must of course have previously distinguished himself by courage and other warlike qualities.

T [492]

Photo W. Hansson.
Young Toba Indian mounted on muleback. Argentine Chaco.

T 411 177

The war weapons of the Tobas were formerly the bow and arrow and the club, made of hard *palo santo* wood. The latter, we are told, were as heavy as if they had been made of iron. But the Tobas early learnt to know the European horse and used horses in their wars also. According to Campos, the Tobas who fought on horseback did not use bow and arrows but long lances [2]). Lances of this kind are still used for hunting the wild boar. The Toba warriors also used armour of tiger-skin and had the head adorned with plumes. Body-painting, moreover, formed an important

T 714 302

[2]) Campos, *op. cit.* p. 230.

3: Metraux E-5 (1933) 1939 SI7 Mataco SI7

with a charata (bird, *Ortalis canicollis*) bone that they might rise early, and finally with an owl's bone in order to see and fight in the dark.

Matako always attack at daybreak. They kill only men, young or old, burn the village, and take away as captives the women and children. When my informant was a child his people fought against the Pilaga on the Pilcomayo where they had gone fishing. The last encounter between the Toba and the Matako took place four years ago (1929) near Pozo del Tigre. In consequence of that conflict, the Matako made prisoner a Toba woman, but later on they surrendered her to her people for a payment.

Toba children taken captive by the Matako were raised like Matako children. Later they married women of the tribe and had in general the same rights as the other members of the group.

Not so long ago the Matako practiced scalping. A man who took a scalp gave it to his wife who danced to express her joy at her husband's killing an enemy.

XVIII. Dances

The dances begin at sunset and are continued until one or two o'clock in the morning. These are only for unmarried people and the dancers are always surrounded by the children of the village; they enjoy these affairs very much. Children normally do not take part in the dances, but are sometimes admitted among the dancers in order that they may learn the songs and dances.

1. All participants form a circle with their faces toward the center, the right hand on the shoulder of the person to the right and the left hand on the waist of the person to the left. One of the dancers starts singing very slowly and everybody stamps rhythmically, the right foot marking the time. After a few notes all the dancers begin to sing. The rhythm of the song and the movement of the dancers become livelier and livelier and gradually the stamping develops

6:Métraux E-5 (no date) 1943 SI7 Mataco SI7

terms. Every party ends with broken limbs, smashed skulls or at least avail to persuade the mother to receive her child. The missionary with black and blue marks. The fact that they gamble for high stakes on the outcome contributes to the violence of the party and to the passionate ardor of the players.

Aggressiveness finds another outlet in drinking bouts. Fights are so intimately associated with these alcoholic enjoyments that, before a party begins, the chief gives a long talk in which he exhorts the men to refrain from violence and to have a good time in peace and harmony. When the men begin to get inebriated the women conceal the weapons in the bush. Despite these precautions, quarrels and fights are rather common. Men remember slights and insults delivered months before and belatedly challenge the offender. Threats are exchanged and hard words are followed by acts of violence.

Formerly, of course, suppressed bad feelings found an outlet in the practice of black magic and aggressive personalities were able to indulge in regular warfare and scalping parties.

In order to maintain discipline and to prevent violence, missionaries have prohibited hockey, drinking and, of course, witchcraft and warfare. As a result there is in modern Matako society no institutionalized means for any person to give vent to his feelings of anger and aggression. Suicide is the only way open to punish the offender.

It is possible that interest in life itself decreases as the Indian is progressively prevented from carrying on any of his former activities. In addition, he is faced with increasingly difficult economic problems. The struggle for life is harsher and the conditions more humiliating. The Indians are well aware that they are the underdogs.

In a general way, we may say that the Matako have no resilience. They are abused, down trodden by the whites but rarely revolt. They accept their lot with abject resignation. Why should they bother, is their attitude; since the white man has come it has always been the same. Missionaries say that they rarely resist temptation; a man who for years has been a good Christian, "sins" at the first opportunity. Moreover, the Matako are decidedly unaquisitive; they give away for trifles the very objects for which they have worked for months in the sugar cane factories. They do not even bother to increase their small herds. Such indifference to possessions increases with old age. An old man asked, "Why should I bother to get more goats, since I am about to die? This behavior undoubtedly carries over from the past when the property of the dead was destroyed.

Nevertheless, since similar conditions prevail among other Indian groups without provoking a comparable predilection for suicide, the

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Matacos or Noctenes

M 131 648 This tribe is also very numerous; it lives on the right bank of the Pilcomayo River, occupying the part opposite the zone occupied by the Toba, with whom they maintain friendly relations which are disturbed from time to time, especially at the time when the algarrobas and other fruits ripen.

M 797 179 A group of these Indians in times past formed a part of the San Antonio del Pilcomayo Mission, where today the Chaco Delegation is located, occupying the mission buildings. But because they are as fickle, or perhaps more so, than the Toba, Religion and the State could make little progress with such Indians.

M 131 197 648 T 186 These Indians are very numerous and in small groups extend as far as the shores of the Bermejo; their language is totally different from that of the other tribes and they hardly mix, although they maintain friendly relations with the Toba, to whom they are considered to be inferior.

M 181 578 273 Their physiognomy is overly languid; sadness can be read in their faces, and they are very miserable; nevertheless they are ferocious in war, in jealousy, or in a state of drunkenness; they injure and kill one another. Out of these considerations the women refrain from drinking to the state of inebriation in order to prevent their husbands' disorders and to hide the weapons in the event of the outbreaks which frequently occur (1).

M 273 [171] M [243]

1. In the drinking bouts they are the same as the Toba; they make a mead from the fruits of the algarroba, which is almost as intoxicating as brandy; they also make mead from other wild fruits; they do not make <u>chicha</u> because they hardly plant maize.

M 181 721 648 They are more peaceful Indians than the Toba, are not very warlike, and do not attack the houses of the whites but profit when they can from the latter's cattle, especially should a famine break out due to a lack of wild fruits.